POKROVSKY

THE GOSPEL
IN THE MONUMENTS OF ICONOGRAPHY

A

PICTURE

Month of March. From the Sy Gospel

N. V. Pokrovskiĭ

THE GOSPEL IN THE MONUMENTS OF ICONOGRAPHY

mostly

BYZANTINE AND RUSSIAN

By N. Pokrovsky

With 226 pictures in the text and 12 tables.

PICTURE

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Chairman Countess Uvarov.

DEDICATED

TO THE MEMORY

OF COUNT ALEKSEY SERGEIEVICH UVAROV

THE FOUNDER OF THE IMPERIAL MOSCOW
ARCHAEOLOGICAL SOCIETY AND ORIGINATOR
OF ARCHAEOLOGICAL CONGRESSES IN RUSSIA

From the editors.

In publishing the first volume of papers of the VIIIth Archaeological Congress, which took place in Moscow in January, 1890, to commemorate the twenty-fifth anniversary of the foundation of the Imperial Miscow Archaeological Society, the editors decided to devote it to the extensive works of the Professor of the St.Petersburg Theological Academy, N. V. Pokrovsky, of the Department of Ecclesiastical Antiquities, in view of the importance of the works and also of the necessity, in the opinion of the editors, of bringing forth and encouraging works dealing with the study of Byzantine-Russian Iconography and Russian ecclesiastical antiquities in general. All those papers of the Congress which will be delivered to the Moscow Archaeological Society will find place in the succeeding volumes. The second volume, which is devoted to prehistoric antiquities, is already in print.

This first volume was printed in St.Petersburg under the personal supervision of the author: all the following volumes will be printed in Moscow under the auspices of the Moscow Archaeological Society.

Countess Uvarov.

FOREWORD

Monuments of Gospel iconography represent one of the greatest items in the general system of ecclesiastical archaeology: that is why we have long paid attention to them. Little by little we have classified them into a special group and studied them by means of scientific publications and existing literature from the external and inner points of view. The results did not fulfill our original expectations. It was found that the existing publications of Byzantine and Russian monuments are insufficient and unreliable in the extreme. Many of the most important monuments were not only not studied, but even not published. The choice of monuments for publication is often explained by chance and ulterior motives, but not by the requirements of the essence of the matter: the pictures of the monuments sometimes give wrong impressions of the originals, clearly contradicting the fundamental principles of Orthodox iconography: and the existing scientific literature merely brushes some separate questions of Gospel iconography, not touching the great mass of them, and almost entirely ignoring the existence of the religious ideas in

the Russian monuments. In view of this, we undertook several journeys to study the monuments in the places of their origin - in Russia, Greece, Turkey and Western Europe. Here there presented itself the possibility of learning many monuments entirely unknown in scientific literature, and of correcting inaccuracies in existing publications and appraisals of monuments. On the basis of this material, collected mainly through the personal study of original monuments, the present book was conceived. A relative incompleteness of material and defects in the methods of research are unavoidable in the first experiments with such works: but we allow ourself to hope that in this work nothing of substantial importance is missing and that everything has received an explanation to the author's best ability. Only those monuments were purposely left out which, being copies of the originals, are not of great importance in the general history of Gospel iconography. Future discoveries of monuments might influence one way or another, some of our conclusions: but the material collected by us will hardly lose its special significance. Our constant and warm desire has been to publish in pictures as great as possible a part of the collected material, since pictures present to the reader the exact and clear conception of the subject, and give clarity to the conclusions based on them.

But the lack of necessary means forces us to restrict the number of illustrations. We give here only pictures of the most characteristic monuments, some hitherto unpublished and essentially necessary for a clear understanding of our descriptions and conclusions. We have annotated by means of footnotes all the most important publications, with the idea of facilitating for the reader the possibility of inquiries and verifications. If our work arouses in the readers a certain esteem and love for Orthodox antiquity, we can with calm conscience, consider our aim attained.

St. Petersburg.
October, 1891

N. POKROVSKY

INTRODUCTION

The purpose of the present work consists in the ecclesiastico-archaeological explanation of pictures referring to Gospel history, mainly Byzantine and Russian. Iconography of the Gospel in all its variety of monuments ancient and modern, oriental and western, artistic and craftsman, is necessarily connected with the Gospel texts; but not always and not everywhere does it present it with the same exactitude and uniformity. Appearing in the most ancient epoch of Christianity in simple forms, iconography with time changes its original character, according to the change in the attitude of Christian consciousness to the Gospel text itself, and the general point of view on the aims of Christian art and iconography. Therefore iconography is, up to a certain point, subordinated to the law of historical development. Where lies the original kernel of Gospel iconography, where and when and under what circumstances was it developed, in what did this development express itself, and to what end did it arrive? These questions have their incontestable importance. The iconography of the ancient period does not represent either a wide choice of subject or breadth

of theological and artistic planning in development of these subjects or iconographical compositions. Everything here is simple, as simple as is the original Christianity. The Christian symbolism of the catacombs expresses even the most lofty truths of Christianity in concise forms; in simple, sometimes even naive form, it gives only a hint of these truths, leaving it to the observer to transport himself by thought and imagination into the region of eternal ideals which transcend the medium of the pictorial art. Here historical scenes also do not vary: we meet the same themes in Italy, in Greece, in Syria, and in Egypt. The centre of this iconography presents the personality of the Savior and the miracles of the Gospel. But in this period neither the types nor the composition of the pictures were yet settled with sufficient clarity, through the trends toward this stabilization were already noticeable in the Fourth Century. Christian art was under the strong influence of antique art, which at that time, it is true, had lost the freshness of energy necessary for new creation, but preserved the beauty and plasticity of artistic forms. Using these forms and uniting them with Christian ideals, Christian artists, if at the same time they succeeded in mastering the full conception of Christianity as a

religion, could not but see the extreme inadequacy of these forms for the expression of Christian ideas. It was necessary to remove some of these forms, as not corresponding to the spirit of Christianity, and to change others and create anew a third under the immediate guidance of Christianity itself. Traces of free treatment of the original forms are already noticeable clearly in the sculpture of ancient Christian sarcophagi; they appear even more clearly in the mosaics of the IV - V centuries, and the VI century already gives us many monuments of entirely independent Christian art, created inside the Christian world, while antique art here left only a trace, as a tradition of a remote artistic school. Lively creative activity in the sphere of pure Christian art is concentrated in Byzantium. Byzantine art delivers a decisive blow to the plasticity of the forms of antique art, but it considerably widens the artistic horizon and elevates thought and imagination into the region of lofty ideals. An immense work was ahead for Byzantium: it was necessary to establish the fundamental types of design of different persons, and this already demanded great historical, theological and artistic knowledge, because Page II
these types were not just a simple copy of nature, but

were a result of a creating, even if such creating was not attempting to rupture the bond with realistic portrayal: it was necessary to create entire groups and compositions of pictures on the subjects offered by Christianity. The work was going on rapidly and as early as the VI century vast cycles of pictures were completed in the spirit of the Byzantine artistic standpoint. The type of the Savior and the compositions on Gospel themes were the subjects on which the creative activities of the Byzantine artists had to focus themselves first of all. Already in the VI century there appeared illuminated Gospels with vast iconographical content with types and compositions sufficiently defined. Whereas antiquo-Christian art sets forth mainly concrete facts, the Byzantine art introduces into iconography elements of abstract theology, profound thought and contemplation. The main determining basis in this activity of Byzantines and also of artists of the antiquo-Christian period served the text of the Gospel: but this was not the only source of knowledge of the personality of Jesus Christ and Gospel history. Christian tradition in its various aspects and forms had to find access to iconography: in accordance with the development of the tradition and its transition into the consciousness

of artists, iconography was also changed: new compositions on the subjects of Gospel history were created, old compositions were changed, absorbing new elements, which appeared under the influence of the tradition. Tracing in this way the development of iconography, we trace simultaneously the development of religious and artistic conceptions: observing the gradual growth of Gospel iconography we observe the change in the relationship of human consciousness toward the Gospel text in different epochs of history, and we study the efforts of human thought to soar to the heights of the Gospel, and to express the whole depth and breadth of its content in artistic forms. The development of these forms continues from the V up to the XII century, but even the ensuing period of decadence, just as in the period of the second renaissance of Greek history in the XVI to the XVII centuries, presents not a few curious phenomena in Gospel iconography, even if these phenomena were not as much the result of organic development as a consequence of mechanical combination and piling up of elements. The basic rules of Byzantine iconography were also absorbed by the medieval art of Western Europe, and formed the foundation of the multitude of monuments of murals, miniatures, carvings, and enamels, pres-

Cathedral of St. Sophia in Kiev. The majority of ancient Russian churches were satisfied in their murals by the more comprehensible and customary pictures. Of illuminated manuscripts there could not have been many, and in homes, simple icons were used. Also in the beginning the total of available educational means could not have been very great, and if in the whole complex of ancient Russian iconography one can find in the most ancient epoch some revelation of Russian creation, then we do not find them in Gospel iconography. Comparing, from this point of view, Russian and Byzantine monuments, we come to a conclusion of identity of forms, points of view and conceptions appearing in them. The only conclusion to be drawn from this is the conviction that Russian iconography is genetically dependent from the Byzantine. But with the approach of the XVII century the situation changes. Both the monuments that have reached us and the clear testimony of ancient literature assure us that our Gospel iconography begins to enrich itself by the afflux of forms, which have their origin partly in the neo-Greek and partly in Western iconographies, and partly were created by Russian artists; at the same time, some ancient Byzantine forms disappear from artistic usage, or enter new combinations. This

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change is again connected with the change in religious and artistic points of view: it has reflected the transition from the epoch of "faith from simplicity of heart" to the epoch of knowledge by inquiry. All these Page III steps in the history of Byzantine and Russian art must be given an exact explanation in the analysis of monuments of Gospel iconography. But the mentioning of the epochs considered shows only the general trend of Byzantine-Russian iconography, whereas in the history of many separate pictures one often has to deal also with particular reasons underlying the changes and development of some single picture, which considerably complicates the task of research. It is clear from the above that our research is directed toward archeological and historical aims but not toward practical ones. Of course the classification of iconographical forms and their assignment according to epochs with the identification of characteristics of one or another epoch can serve as criticism in the matter of the defining of newly founded monuments and chronological placing of them, which already constitutes a practical result. And

one also can hardly contest the fact that correct planning of tasks for our modern shattered iconography is possible only through study of the monuments of antiquity, as these monuments present many attempts to solve identical problems at different times: the study of the experiments of the past is useful in making plans for the future. But at this time we leave aside the problems of practical application of archeological knowledge, as a subject of the special ecclesiastico-practical science in conjunction with artistic technique and stay within the limits of historico-archaeological science: scribitur ad narrandum, non ad probandum. In what way is it possible to reach the satisfactory solution of the problems with which one confronts oneself? According to our conviction the only possible way consists in the comparative study of the physical monuments of antiquity and the monuments of ancient literature. Bringing to light and necessary criticism of the former will show the historical growth of the iconographical forms and their changes in different times, and the monuments of literature will give the explanation of the inward basis and motives stimulating these changes. We shall explain this.

The lack of preliminary collections and works in the field of the history of the Gospel iconography in Byzantium and Russia puts an investigator first of all in the position of a collector of material. It is impossible to set broad aims of research in the field of archaeology until the moment when the separate monuments are brought to light. The more we have of such monuments the better and the nearer to the truth will be the conclusion based on them. A truthful saying was uttered a long time ago: "He who has seen only one monument has seen nothing and he who has seen a hundred monuments has seen only one". It is necessary to compare these monuments and distinguish in them traces sometimes seemingly petty, but which have their importance in founding the general theses; it is necessary to classify them according to the similarity of basic features, allocate them according to chronological and sometimes to local groups. This is the preliminary and preparatory stage of the work. It is impossible to avoid it; in the same way it is impossible to keep this material for oneself, and not to exhibit it: because the basis on which a conclusion is reached should be set forth, otherwise verification of the conclusions is impossible. Until now the monuments of the ancient Christian period enjoy

comparatively great repute; the Byzantine monuments are less known, though they have already attracted the attention of the specialists, and some groups of them, such as, for example miniatures have received even scientific-artistic appraisal. But for the history of Byzantine iconography, collection of the exact reproductions of the monuments would be necessary which until now we have not had. The attempts of this kind made by Agincourt, Sommerard, Lacroix, Rohault Rogot de Fleury, and the others, give only a few examples of Byzantine iconography, chosen according to the personal judgment of the authors mentioned, not in the interest of Byzantine history as a whole, are for us extremely insufficient. As regards monuments of Russian iconography, they are even less known archaeological literature than the Byzantine monuments. This creates the necessity for preliminary search and study of the monuments dispersed in the museums of Europe, in monasteries, cathedrals, churches and private collections of the amateurs of antiquity. Up to what degree we were able to prevail, this first obstacle will be seen in the proper place. Undoubtedly the attempt made by us to write a complete history of Gospel iconography would be impossible without this preliminary work.

The possibility of the scientific coordination of monuments collected in this manner has its support in the fundamental elements of Byzantine-Russian iconography and does not contradict the development inherent in the latter. The opinion that this iconography represents a conglomerate of chance phenomena, appearing according to the whims and caprices of the craftsman icon painters, belongs to dilletantes. It has no serious factual basis, if one discounts as such basis the isolated cases of abuses such as are mentioned in a ukase of the Czar Alexis Michailovich, aimed against the Holuisky icon painters.[1] If it is possible to talk of general Page IV

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1) (I. E. Sabelin. Materials for the History of Icon Painting. Annals (Vremennik) of Moscow Society of History and Antiquities, 1850 Vol. 7, pp. 85-86.)

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principles of schools and periods in the history of Western paintings considering the complete freedom and originality of the artistic ideas of Western artists, so much more natural is the coordination in the Byzantine-Russian iconography classification, which is mostly of a hieratic character. Byzantine iconography from its first steps, allied itself with religion and served its

purposes. Iconography began to be looked upon as one of the means of the religious and moral education of the people. This point of view took such root toward the VIII century that at the Seventh General Council the necessity of prohibiting any kind of innovation in iconography was pointed out. One of the members of the Council,(Deacon Epiphany) said that only the technical side should be subject to the judgment of an artist; whereas the composition of the icons he reserved to the Saint Fathers (church dignitaries. Translator's note) and he based it on ancient tradition.(1 We have reason

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1) Book.

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to think that the point of view of Epiphany did not represent in itself such an original phenomenon, which could shock his contemporaries and would be in complete discord with reality. The veneration for tradition and the imitation of antiquity, although not reaching a standardization of icon painting that would not allow any development, had been inculcated in artists by the previous epoch, therefore Epiphany from this point of view expressed the opinion which

was applied in practice. It indicates the foundation on which the possibility of the scientific coordination of iconographic monuments is based: but he stretches this point of view to excess, recommending repressive measures, which were not in conformity with the real state of affairs. It seems that this excess was noticed by the Fathers of the Council: they did not organize the control over the icons by the church: as a matter of fact, it did not exist, not only at that time, but at any other time. At least in the entire history of Byzantium, except during the epoch of iconoclasm, which cleared and firmly established the principle of icon worship, one does not see any sizeable measures to that end. The church's power not only did not offer any kind of guiding rules in iconography, but did not even protest against innovations. At the same time these innovations were not rare phenomena. The expansion of Christian ideas expanded iconographic cycles; with the increase in religious festivals, new writings and collections of writings appeared, the ideas of which were transferred in art, even sometimes directly on the walls of churches, in the form of mosaics. And if now we look at some of the monuments of Byzantine antiquity from the point of view of the conceptions already established about sources of iconography and religious teachings in our time, then perhaps we find in them much that is

superfluous and arbitrary, which theological thought, reared in the severe formulas of religious teaching can not admit. The Byzantine attitude to this question was different. Keeping for themselves the point of view on the icon as an object of veneration and medium of instruction of the people, Byzantine theologians were far from applying to each separate picture exactly fixed measurement of religious teaching, or applying criticism to the picture. They knew very well that the people will not draw from iconography new dogmas and create on this unstable foundation new heresies and schisms: and therefore they allowed a certain degree of freedom in this sphere, providing that iconographic innovations did not shock the eye by flagrant tendentiousness. The history of iconography from this point of view is analogous to the history of the ecclesiastical ritual. The assemblage of Byzantine ecclesiastical rituals was by no means created by the exact prescriptions of councils or individuals, who would be occupying themselves with the creation of complete rituals and ceremonials and of spreading them everywhere. The number of the ritual rules which owe their existence to Councils is extremely limited. On the whole, history created the ritual. The life of the church and the inward and

outward conditions of its development call forth ritual and ecclesiastical usages, first local, which with time gain forms exactly defined in the written set of rules and receive the general recognition of the church. The same thing applies to iconography. And if in spite of the existence of definite codes, in the form of written statutes, apparently limiting the ritual, the church allows newly appearing rituals and even entire services, then it also allows changes in ecclesiastical iconography. But neither divine services nor iconography could be considered dogmatic systems, in which the entire content up to the most minute details is sanctioned and officially recognized, and in which the smallest signs of private opinion and points of view are missing. Only with time when the tremendous work of re-examination of all our books of divine servies rituals, iconography and so on is finished, shall Catholics and Protestants have the right to address themselves to these subjects as to one of the sources of Orthodox dogma. Be that as it may, Page V
the VII General Council set up no repressive measures against iconography, although the veneration for tradition expressed by Epiphany corresponded to the spirit of its (the General Council's) definitions and general point of view on the religious painting of that time. The church

did not support the iconographic uniformity in Byzantium by external measures, but by the character of education of artists, by the general and established set of conceptions of ecclesiastical art, and by the general principle of conservatism of the Eastern church. It even allowed a development, but the latter, from its inward side, was not so much the product of personal inventiveness, as the expression of ideas and conceptions already introduced into general usage. Innovations were easily assimilated. They brought forth imitations, and little by little increased the stock of the traditional iconographical forms. Clearly the coordination of the results of development which had such a conventional character is entirely feasible. Eight centuries later, after the aforementioned General Council, when Western Europe was able to present a long succession of brilliant artistic schools and trends, in which there was not only no visible traces left of Byzantine influence, but even the basic standpoint on the purposes of the art was entirely changed, with us in Russia there was again brought forth the old basis of veneration of tradition and of copying holy pictures from the best ancient Greek and Russian examples. The exponent of it proved to be the Council of the Hundred Chapters. Its decision had no practical consequences,

but for us the important fact is that here is supported the old standpoint on iconography as a subject that has stability and precision of form. And after all, are not Greek and Russian painters' guides the evident proof of the same iconographical precision? They offer for the guidance of artists, descriptions of all the most important pictures and therefore presuppose the possibility and the necessity of uniformity and subordination to certain regulations; and the monuments that have been preserved prove with complete clearness, that the requirements of painters' guides not only did not contradict the actual reality, but also restrained the tendencies toward personal artistic whims, that is, they helped the purpose, to which the Council of the Hundred Chapters aspired in vain. If even these painters' guides, in spite of the assurances of their introductions, do not stem from the Byzantine epoch, at least they prove that such a standpoint was preserved with us in the XVI-XVIII centuries. From this point of view the Byzantine-Russian iconography differs entirely from the Western. To appreciate this difference correctly it is necessary to pay attention to their fundamental principles. In some particular cases they can sometimes approach each other, but in principle they had already grown apart in the XIII century: in the West, the border between the ecclesiastical and secular

iconography is destroyed; in one as in the other equally individual thought and artists' inspiration dominate, not being restricted by tradition: entirely new forms are introduced in ecclesiastical iconography and their merits are determined by means of the same criterion as in secular art: the icon designated for the church is treated as any other picture designated for a drawing-room. Such a picture can carry away the emotions and the imagination, can bring forth a feeling of enraptured emotion and a bitter weeping, but does not conform with the Eastern Orthodox point of view upon an icon, as one of the edifying media and an object of religious veneration. Our ancestors drew a line between iconography and secular painting, just as between ecclesiastical teaching and private instruction. An icon as the representation of a certain idea in certain established forms, according to their belief, should not allow of arbitrary changes. This standpoint appeared as a direct deduction from the general point of view on the church ritual. Guarding the ritual from innovations, our ancestors also guarded iconography. Our contemporary point of view and practice on these subjects are not distinguished by such logical consistency. We have a just respect not only toward the dogmatic and canonic, but also toward the

ritual traditions of antiquity, guard them from arbitrary distortions, bring up questions of uniformity of ecclesiastical practice, and try to make it conform with the old traditions; as concerns iconography, we leave it at the complete disposal of unrecognized artists, brought up not at all in that spirit which is required for ecclesiastical painting. It would seem as if it were a matter which has no relation to the ecclesiastical question. Leaving aside the question of inconsistency, the result of this is that our iconography loses more and more its definite character and changes into a pitiful copying of Western pictures;the merits of its inner content are sacrificed to realism; the iconographic forms and compositions borrowed from the West sometimes are in direct discord with the traditions of the Eastern church, as for instance the image not made with hands with the wreath of thorns (the imprint of the fact of Jesus on the napkin. Translator's note.), and the Eastern legend of its origin; the murals in churches are placed without any definite order, and in this way the edifying symbolism of a church expressed by its ancient murals disappears; even in church iconostasies the ornamentation begins to oust the iconography. The lack of a definite point of Page VI
view on character and purposes of church iconography, the complete arbitrariness, the blind imitation of the

West - that is what our contemporary reality shows us. The exceptions are rare.

So then the standpoint on the ecclesiastical iconography prevailing in antiquity gives us the basis for considering antique monuments collectively, as an expression of a certain definite idea. Their classification on the basis of identity of forms is at the same time the classification according to the inner content. In the process of an archaeological work the external classification of monuments occupies the first place; but the final purpose of iconographical research does not consist in this. In themselves groups of monuments represent only the skeleton which requires inspiriting. A definite scheme prepared by diverting the attention from available monuments, presupposes a certain inner content. Is it true, and where to look for the key to the solution of the inner sense of iconographical compositions? If Byzantine iconography has always stood in a narrow union with religion, then it is understandable that its forms must express definite ideas and conceptions. Otherwise the continuous repetition of compositions which we notice in its history would be impossible: chance phenomena not sufficiently defined from the point of view of their inner content, could hardly find general recognition. In the iconographical

productions of the Byzantine artists the subjective element occupies the second place; they tried to stay in the sphere of ideas and conceptions of common usage, moulding them into artistic forms. Being on the level of contemporary knowledge, they transferred it into iconography. It is impossible to assert that Byzantine iconography embraces the whole complex of this knowledge: its field is much narrower, and every attempt on our part to fill the lack of literary monuments with the monuments of iconography could not meet with any success. The only thing that is true is that Byzantine artists were inspired by the same ideas, revolved in the same circle of thoughts and conceptions as their contemporaneous religious thinkers. Therefore it is possible to compare their productions with the monuments of ancient literature; with the help of the latter it is possible to ascertain exactly the inner content of iconographical compositions. The main task consists in finding these monuments and ascertaining their real connection with the iconographical monuments. Such monument of literature in its application to Gospel iconography, as has already been mentioned, serves the Gospel itself first of all: in it are given not only all basic themes of Gospel iconography, but are even indicated some details of the characters, types, circumstances and history of

events important in the matter of artistic creation. But if this primary source was not always and in everything sufficient for artists, then also it is not sufficient for a scientific explanation of monuments of ancient Gospel iconography. Many events are related in the Scriptures very briefly and for their artistic transmission it was required to supplement them from other sources; therefore, for the explanation of iconographical phenomena of that kind it is necessary to turn to other monuments of the written language, aside from the Scriptures. Neither their evaluation nor even a simple enumeration of them could be made here; it will be given in the analyses of iconographical subjects. Here it is sufficient to mention that these monuments are very disparate in their character: some are exegetic, others historical, homiletic and liturgic. Not the least place is occupied by the monuments of apocryphal literature. They are being insistently pointed out as a source of iconography by many experts; we shall mention Count Uvarov, de- Vaal, N.P. Kondakov, A.I. Kirpichnikov, E.B. Barsov, Mr. Ainalov and Mr. Redin. Enthusiasm over them sometimes reaches such limits that could only be explained by insufficient acquaintance with the monuments of iconography, as for

instance, in the observations on this subject expressed by Mr. Sakharov.[1] Within the limits of exact facts,

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1) (Christian Reading (Christianskoie Chtenie) 1888 No. 3-4, p. 296).

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serious comparison of them with monuments of iconography has its basis: it is possible to apply it in some cases toward ancient-Byzantine monuments and particularly toward Medieval Western and Russian of the XVII century, when illuminated manuscripts of legends of the Passion of Christ came into fashion with us. Nevertheless, no matter how we regard the origin and significance of the apocryphies, whether we consider them productions of ancient heretics, put into circulation for the purpose of propaganda of heretical errors, or a product of pious imagination, brought forth by the brevity of the true Scriptures; whether we consider their content entirely an invention of the imagination or whether we find in them a particle of truth transmitted here partly from the true Scriptures and partly from unwritten legends, in any case the attitude toward them of Byzantine iconography has no tendential character. Byzantines have not had complete illuminated codices of apocryphal Scriptures; in any case, we have not succeeded in finding there anything of that description. Not one of the dogmatic errors, brought Page VII

forth in the apocryphal Scriptures, finds more or less clear reflection in Byzantine iconography. The external details of events, narrated in the true Scriptures - that is the ground on which the Byzantine iconography sometimes meets with apocryphies. But these details often repeat themselves also in the other monuments of ancient literature, which from a dogmatical point of view have nothing in common with apocryphies. The question of how this similarity originated is not yet solved: whether it can be explained by borrowing directly from apocryphies or borrowing from the most ancient legends, which authors of apocryphies also used. Some details of Gospel narratives are mentioned by ecclesiastical writers apparently earlier than the apocryphies themselves received the final version, and without any doubt, earlier than the latter were included in the index librorum prohibitorum.

Having defined the purposes and the ways of our research, we shall pass on to reviewing sources of Gospel iconography. It is necessary in the first place because many sources are not yet known to ecclesiastico-archaeological science, and appear here for the first time, and the sources, known previously to the other authors, are examined by us from a different angle; in the second place, because of using these sources for an explanation of the

history of separate iconographic subjects, we must necessarily separate them into their component parts; but as they are also interesting in their entirety it is necessary to characterize them separately as complete monuments, with their essential peculiarities, occupying one or another place in the complete series of monuments of Gospel iconography; in the third place, a review of sources will show us the general historical course of Gospel iconography; and finally in the fourth place, this presents us with visible proof of the degree of the completeness of our research.

A) The first place among the sources of Byzantine Russian Gospel iconography should be given to the ancient codices of illuminated Gospels. In the complete illuminated Gospels there is an entire and complete iconographic cycle of Gospel events, which we cannot find in any of the other groups of monuments. It is only in them alone that we find certain miracles of the Gospel, certain parables, sermons, journeys and the like, that is, such details to which the consecutive narrative of the Evangelists led miniaturists, but for the separate representation of which on an icon or a church mosaic there was no urgent inducement. But in spite of possessing this numerical

completeness, the illuminated Gospels do not contain in their illustrations such breadth and freedom of ideas, nor such originality of invention of subjects, as are possible in other monuments and even in miniatures of some manuscripts, as for instance, psalters, the homilies of Jacobus, works of edifying character. Illuminated manuscripts were intended not so much for private use as for church use. Before the consciousness of miniaturists there was ever present the text of the Gospel, inviolable and not tolerating either abbreviations or additions, as the main basis for determining iconographic compositions. Therefore in the illuminated Gospels even of the XII century one can often find such simple compositions on subjects which in other monuments were at that time exchanged for other more complicated representations. Miniaturists of illuminated Gospels had no purpose in completing the Gospel text by means of visible forms, based on the other sources and in this way commenting on the Gospel. Such tendencies, if they really took place, would change considerably those simple iconographic schemes which we see now in the ancient illuminated Gospels. Actually the aims of ministurists of the Gospel were much more modest. They were trying to relate in visual forms only the direct and objective content of the Gospel text.

If such illustrations even could serve didactical purposes, then only as far as visualization in general reinforces the impression produced by a mere narrative. But as the iconographic traditions of Byzantium under the influence of hieratic principle were stable and defined and as not only mosaists, icon painters, and sculptors, but even miniaturists developed their artistic taste and practical usages on traditional forms, then as a consequence, miniaturists sometimes brought into Gospel miniatures even such details as are not mentioned in the Gospel text, but which from ancient times were introduced in the sphere of iconography, and repeated according to the tradition in monuments of all kinds. Force of habit prevailed over theoretical considerations of literalism and exactitude and prevented strict separation of the Gospel miniatures from the monuments of a different kind. Such deviations in the illuminated codices of Gospels are not numerous; besides, they do not represent an exclusive phenomenon in the entire complex of Byzantine iconography, created with the express purpose of commenting on the Gospel text. The main role of the illuminated Gospels in the general history of Byzantine iconography consists in the creation

anew of iconographic forms for some subjects on certain themes of the Gospel and in this way therefore give completeness to the entire cycle of Gospel iconography.

The most ancient of the codices of illuminated Gospels that have reached us do not go back earlier than the VI century. Were these codices that are known to us the first attempts at illuminated Gospels, or do they represent copies of originals more ancient? Many of those pictures that were inserted in these most ancient codices existed already in the iconography of the earlier time: we find them already in the mosaic and sculpture of the IV and V centuries and the historic connection between them is without any doubt. Concerning one of these codices - the Syrian Gospel of Rabula, it was long ago noted that the careless roughness and technical imperfection in the execution of its miniatures and at the same time the artistry of composition show that the miniaturist must have used the existing originals.[1] But did

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1) (N.P.Kondakov. History of Byzantine Art. p. 71)

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special codices of illuminated Gospels exist before? Neither such monuments nor more or less direct indications of them have reached us. The monuments of ancient literature speak on the subject indistinctly. From them we

learn about the existence in the IV - V centuries of precious codices of the Gospel with magnificent decorations, but they do not mention directly miniature pictures of persons and events of the Gospel. Eusebius witnesses that the Emperor Constantine intrusted him with the preparation of the books for the churches of Constantinople, that among their number were well written and even luxuriously prepared scrolls in three and four sheets.(2

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2) Vita Const. IV, 36-37. Valesii historiae eccles. scriptores, ed. 1746, t. I.

There were probably also the Gospels; but the historian says no word about holy pictures. John Chrysostom in the thirty second discourse on the subject of the Gospel of John mentioned the use by Christians, his contemporaries, of luxurious codices of the Bible written on the magnificent material ( ) in excellent script ( ) with golden letters ( ).(3

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3) Migne Patrol, c. c.s. gr. t. LIX, col. 187.

Kedrin says that the Emperor Constantine embellished the Gospels of the city's great church with gold and precious

stones.[4] But these decorations evidently refer to the

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4) [illegible]

Corp. script. hist. byzant. Ed. Nieburii. Georgius Cedrenus t. I p. 517.

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coverings of the Gospels; the same decorations are in mind in the tale about the Emperor Zeno, who honored in the same way the codex which was found on the breast of the Apostle Barnabas in the year 485.[5] About Theo-

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5) Ciampini Vet. monim. t. I. p. 132.

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dosius Junior it was known that he was a good calligraphist.[6]

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6) Muralt Chronogr. byzant. t. I p. 16.

In general the art of calligraphy is a matter incontrovertible not only in the IV and V centuries but also for the III century. It is known also that valuable codices of the Gospels were preserved in elegant caskets and were venerated.[7] Monuments of miniature painting before the VI

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7) Facts: Kraus Real-Encyclopaedie der christl. Alterthümer I, 457.

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century have also reached us, but these miniatures have the character of antiquity; the basis for them was prepared by

the earlier history of art, which one could not say in the same measure in regard to the illumination of the Gospel. A specifically Christian creation was required for the latter to a much greater degree than for instance for the illumination of the Iliad, the works of Virgil and even the Book of Genesis, illuminated manuscripts of which go back earlier than the VI century. And therefore if the illuminated Gospels preserved for us are copies, still their originals are not far from them in time. The archaeological facts do not allow of placing the beginning of the illuminated Gospels earlier than the V and even the VI centuries. The symbolic cycle of Christian pictures was developed and the transition from Greco-Roman art to original Christian art was marked in the first three centuries of Christianity; the artistic energy of the IV and V centuries was directed to the development of main types and subjects in the Christian spirit: Christian art started the new trend and although there is a certain hesitation and inconsistency in the handling of antique Christian forms, it is clear that a turn back was impossible; the fundamental aims of the art are marked firmly. The hesitation was finished in the VI century; Christian art developed and grew strong. If one compares the Ravennate mosaics of the V century (the baptisteries of the church of Galla Placida) with the mosaics of the

the VI century (of the Church of Appollinaris Nuovo and Vitali), then one will note what a decisive step was taken by the art in the new direction during the course of one century: the same one can see in the other sufficiently numerous monuments of that time. The consciousness of artistic strength and the skill of handling Christian themes, a large reserve of ready material, could Page IX inspire Byzantine artists for the great work of illumination of the entire Gospel. For such work there was necessary not only knowledge of traditional forms, but creative energy and as a necessary condition of success, a deep penetration into the essence of the Gospel. Such a problem could not be solved in all its minutest details in a short time, and by the efforts of a single person; for that, more than one century was required: but it is important that in the V and VI centuries such a strong basis for this work was laid, that it determined its further course. If one compares illuminated codices, which stand not far from the two opposite poles in the history of Byzantine art, namely codices of the VI century from one side, and of the XII century from the other, and these later with the latest codices of the XVI and XVII centuries, then it is evident that the illuminated Gospels had a certain development, although conventional, as was noted before. The

artistic and theological thought of the Gospel miniaturists, subordinated necessarily to the requirements of the time, could not during the course of several centuries be limited by those iconographic forms which were given in the Gospels of the VI century. The rigidity of form, the complete lack of creative activity, mechanical imitation, also pretentious tendency toward innovation and didacticism without sufficient talent and knowledge are the signs of the decadence of art; but the state of affairs in Byzantium in the epoch of the VI - XII centuries was different. Here were present not only talents but ready impulses, for art in the general character of civilization. Let us take for granted that Greek literature had declined considerably already by the VI century, but still it existed and had many of such features as could directly stimulate the development of predilection for illuminated gospels. The edifying and partly legendary character of literature, transferring thought and imagination into the sphere of magic, recalling the pictures of paradise and hell, excited interest particularly toward that part of the Gospel where the miracles produced by the Savior are narrated: and in fact that part of the Byzantine Gospel is distinguished by the particular abundance of the illustrations. A dry and

abstract tendency in literature is a bad fellow traveller of art. But admitting a development in illuminated Gospels, it is necessary to mention its character. The basic types and subjects do not undergo a considerable change according to a personal whim of artists; the changes in them concern only details: once established types are being introduced into new iconographical combinations, new subjects are created, some new types are defined. But new types and subjects with few exceptions are created not without influence of the above mentioned more important types and subjects; therefore here we see not so much an original creation as an adaptation of ready basic forms for the expression of new ideas. Analysis of the monuments preserved for us will show us more exactly the relationship between the most ancient and the most recent illuminated Gospels. The Byzantine codices that have reached us are not numerous: a part of them belongs to the VI century but the greatest part to the X and XII centuries. The lacuna in the monuments at hand coincides with the epoch of iconoclasm; nevertheless, the iconoclastic movement cannot be accepted as the sole reason for the lack of monuments. The main part of the monuments have perished without a trace, but the others are not yet known. Their discovery, which have

occurred oftener and oftener in modern times, makes us think that with time their number will increase considerably. It is impossible that in the course of an entire millenium in Buzantium, which is rich in all respects, there could appear the some two or three tens of illuminated Gospels which we have now. And there is no doubt that the amount of the monuments at hand is not complete: some of them, according to all indications, are copies of the more ancient originals, the latter being still missing.

The most ancient of the Greek illuminated Gospels that has reached us is the Rossano Codex, which was found by Gebhardt and Harnack in the small Calabrian town of Rossano, where, as is known, the Greek ritual and the Greek language were retained until the XV century in the divine service. It was written on parchment with silver, and according to the credible deduction of the learned editors, in the VI century,[1] but according to the conclusion of Mr. Usov,

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1) Gebhardt u. A. Harnack Evangel. codex graecus purpur. rossan. litteris argenteis sexto ut videtur saeculo scriptus picturisque ornatus. Leipzig 1880.

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in the year 527.[2] Whether this Gospel appeared in lower

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2) The proceedings of the Moscow Archaeological Society 1881 Vol. IX.

Egypt, as Mr. Usov supposed, or in some other place, in any case the character of its miniatures give us ground to place it at the head of illuminated Gospels. Unfortunately the preserved codex is not complete; only two Gospels of Matthew and Mark are included in it. The miniatures are placed not in the text of the manuscript and not among the canons of Eusebius, which are missing here, but on the first fly leaves before the Gospel of Matthew. In this latter circumstance, according to our opinion, lies one of the signs of the antiquity of the manuscript: here one does not yet see that meticulousness with which the later miniaturists placed their miniatures directly Page X to the corresponding text and not seldom to follow more exactly the text, they separate subjects into their component parts, placing them separately, and in that way they sacrifice to punctiliousness the artistic completeness of the pictures. Here miniatures did not succeed in blending with the text, and themselves represent one of the most important parts of the codex. Their style also bears witness to their great antiquity: one notices in the compositions of the miniatures, in the types and in the garments, the traces of antiquo-Christian art: the classical figure of Pilate, the naked figure of the one who fell among thieves, showing skill of reproduction of

the human body, reared on the study of sculpture, animals and birds recalling Greco-Roman ornamentation, beautiful figures of the wise and foolish virgins, a mountain with four paradise rivers are a clear echo of the art of the catacomb period - all these are the signs of an epoch not far from the first centuries of Christianity. At the same time the type of the Savior with the beard, Byzantine garments with tablions and diadems in the pictures of the prophet David, the reproduction of the Eucharist as the distribution of holy bread and a chalice, a lack of schooling in the pictures of the Savior, praying in the Garden of Gethsemane and reclining at the Last Supper, and in the poses of the Apostles receiving communion and the bound thief, give us the vision of the approach of the new epoch in the history of art. The first half of the VI century is the most appropriate time for the production of such miniatures. In the part of the codex that has been pres-

PICTURE

Caption. The Wise and Foolish Virgins. From the Rossano Gospel.

erved there are 18 pictures referring to different events of the Gospel, and 40 pictures of the prophets. They are placed on the sheets 1 to 4 on 7 and 8 in that order as is shown on the table, arranged by us according to the description of Hebhardt and Harnack. The publishers of the codex

David Joshua David Isaiah	Raising of Lazarus	Sheet 1 a.
David Zachariah David Malachi(1	Entry of Jesus Christ into Jerusalem	Sheet 1 b.
David Joshua David Isaiah	Driving of the money-changers out of the temple	Sheet 2 a.
David David David Joshua	The wise and foolish virgins	Sheet 2 b
David David David Zephaniah	The Last Supper and washing of the feet	Sheet 3 a.
David Moses David Isaiah	The Eucharist (bread)	Sheet 3 b
Moses David David Solomon	The Eucharist (wine)	Sheet 4 a.
David David Jonah Micah	The Prayer of Jesus Christ in the Garden of Gethsemane	Sheet 4 b
David Sirach David Isaiah	The healing of the blind in two instances	Sheet 7 a.
David Micah David Sirach	The parable of the Good Samaritan (in two instances)	Sheet 7 b
Judas returning money to the Chief Priests The death of Judas	Jesus Christ before Pilate	Sheet 8 a
Jesus Christ and Barabbas	Judeans before Pilate	Sheet 8 b

rected:- David; but judging by the sign on the scroll (and Our Lord will be the king of whole world), this is the prophet Zachariah.

had reason to mention that 1) the pages with the pictures are bound incorrectly, the chronological sequence of Gospel events required that the seventh page should be placed before the first because the healing of the blind and the parable of the Good Samaritan preceded the raising of Lazarus from the dead; in the case of such juxtaposition, page eight would have its natural place after page four; 2) that some pages with the miniatures are lost. Presupposing that the miniatures must represent something complete in themselves, the publishers think that the miniaturist illustrated either the entire Gospel or only the Passion of Our Lord; but as here one finds pictures which have no relation to the Passion, such as the healing of the blind and the parable of the Good Samaritan, then evidently the first supposition is more correct. It is difficult to say how much the Gospel was illustrated; according to the note of the publishers, it is only true that the miniaturist could not begin from the healing of the blind; it is also doubtful that in accordance with the usual order of miniatures, the parable of the Good Samaritan could be placed next to the raising from the dead of Lazarus, the judgment of Pilate next to the prayer

and finished cycle of the Passion of Our Lord; the whole aim of the miniaturist consisted only in this. As the determining basis for the miniaturist there served the text not of the original Gospels, but the apocryphic Gospel of Nicodemus; this fact, according to the opinion of Mr. Usov, explains not only the general composition of the miniatures of the Rossano Codex, but also the details of its iconographic subjects. This supposition is not entirely acceptable from the external point of view. A miniaturist predestined his pictures for the canonic Gospels and he has their text at hand; what necessity was there to turn to an apocryphy? We do not deny that in the complete history of Byzantine-Russian iconography apocryphies have their significance: when an artist painted an icon, or murals of a church, he could admit an apocryphal detail in addition to the brief narrative of the original Gospel, even introduce a whole series of subjects, based on the apocryphal legend; while in the miniatures of the canonic Gospel, the whole series of apocryphic subjects is quite impossible. The supposition of the apocryphic basis in this case would compel us to accept that the miniaturist preparing the miniatures for canonic Gospels neglected the connection of events given in these Gospels and preferred the one in accordance with the apocryphy, that is, he introduced in the cycle planned

the healing of the blind, the raising from the dead of Lazarus, the parable of the wise and foolish virgins only because in the apocryphy these events are connected with the judgment of Pilate and omitted the Resurrection of Christ solely on the ground that it is not mentioned in the apocryphy. Only a man contaminated by the thought of preference for the apocryphy as against the original Gospels could adopt such manner of illustration; but in such a case it would be more expedient to affix his Page XII illustrations to the text of the apocryphy, but not to the original Gospel. Besides, it should be noticed that Mr. Usov in adapting the miniatures to the text of the apocryphy allows some forced explanations. Remarking that the parable of the Samaritan and the driving out of the money changers are not mentioned in the apocryphy and yet are among the miniatures of the codex, he supposes that the first miniature represents an idea of the beneficence of Jesus Christ in accordance with the narrative of the apocryphy about the healing of a cripple and leper and the second points to that part of the apocryphy where the destruction of the temple is mentioned. It is a strange way of illustrating! In addition to that, asserting the connection of these miniatures with the Judgment of Pilate according to the apocryphy. Mr. Usov,

for reasons not entirely comprehensible, severed this connection. The sequence required that the miniatures of the healing of the blind and parables of the Samaritan remained beside the judgment of Pilate as it is in the actual placing of the miniatures while he transposed them to the beginning and placed them before the raising from the dead of Lazarus and the entrance into Jerusalem, separating them from the Judgment also by the pictures of the Last Supper and the washing of the feet! This has its sense only in the presupposing of chronological sequence of the pictures in the original Gospels but not in the apocryphy. The connection of the iconographical details in the pictures of the manuscript under consideration with the Gospel of Nicodemus is exaggerated in the exposition of Mr. Usov and is not firmly founded: he sees the influence of the apocryphy in the picture of the driving of the money changers out of the Temple (pp. 44-45) while there is nothing that refers directly to this event in the source mentioned, and the author himself evidently had doubts concerning the truth of this conjuncture, when a little farther on he remarked that for explanation of this miniature acquaintance with the canonic Gospels is enough. The author showed the same hesitation, to the point of inconsistency, also in the explanation of the

picture of the entry of Jesus Christ into Jerusalem, first acknowledging in it the influence of the apocryphy and then remarking that it could be explained also without the apocryphy. But we will ignore the details which have no important significance and turn our attention to the further course of thought of Mr. Usov in explaining the whole. Establishing the connection of the miniatures of the Rossano Gospel with the apocryphy, Mr. Usov introduces here one arbitrating principle which impairs unity and sequence. Remarking that the choice of subjects was suggested here by the apocryphic Gospel of Nicodemus, the author evidently noticed the embarrassing situation in which he put the miniaturist and hastened to justify him, but unsuccessfully. In a special chapter, dedicated to analyzing the whole cycle of miniatures and their relation to the four Gospels, he pays attention to the festivals and Gospel readings in the order of the church calendar, and in them he finds a basis why the artist limited himself by such a comparatively small cycle of pictures (p. 67 and the following). Now it appears that the determining factor in this case was the memorial observance of the Orthodox church in the Passion Week and namely: forty days were concluded by Palm Saturday and the Passion Week begins with the

observance of Palm Sunday; the entry of Jesus Christ into Jerusalem is remembered in the "Vay" week; during the Mass on Monday of the Passion Week the Gospel of Matthew XXI, 18-43 is read. In it is brought to memory the discourse of Jesus Christ after the driving of the money changers from the Temple; on Tuesday - the parable about the ten virgins; on Wednesday it is the supper in the house of Simon the Leper: on Thursday it is the Washing of the Feet, the Last Supper, the prayer in the Garden of Gethsemane and the Betrayal of Judas; on Friday the Passion of Our Lord and the judgment of Pilate. These memories of the Passion Week are supposed to be expressed in the miniatures of the Rossano codex. The conformity here without any doubt exists; but the fact of the matter is that the church memories themselves are related by the author not exactly, but with a certain adaptation to the existing complex of miniatures. First of all, for the attainment of his aim the author should determine the antiquity of these memories more exactly, not limiting himself by the general reference to the antiquity of the divine service books: this is important, because some of these memories could appear after the VI century, when the Rossano codex was written and if only for this one reason could not be used for this purpose.

As an instance, we shall point out the fact that according to monuments of ancient Slavonic literature, the divine service derived directly from the Greek, and there has not been prescribed any reading of the Gospel on the Monday Mass;[1] therefore the deduction based on this Gospel

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1) A.A.Dmitrievsky. Divine Service in the Russian Church in the XVI century p. 208.

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about the memories of this day are not valid. At present on Passion Monday there are remembered not the driving of the moneychangers out of the temple and not the discourse which followed this event, but the chaste Joseph, the prototype of Christ who was sold into Egypt, and the barren fig tree representing the human soul, which does not give good fruit. Then Mr. Usov connects with Passion Wednesday the picture of the Last Supper of Jesus Christ with his disciples, presented according to the historical conception in the reclining around the table, which is sigma-shaped [2] and he sees in that picture the supper Page XIII

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2) Gebhardt u. Harnack Taf. VIII.

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in the house of Simon the leper; but he forgets that the essential feature of the picture of the supper in the house of Simon, according to the monuments of Byzantine

iconography, is a woman, who anointed Jesus Christ with ointment which we do not find in the picture that we are considering. We have here in accordance with all iconographical signs, a picture of the Last Supper, which is indicated also by the Washing of the Feet placed beside it on the same sheet. Any doubt produced by the inexactitude of the above explanations is transformed into the complete certitude of the invalidity of the principle if we pay attention to the following. In the succession of the memories of the Passion Week there are no memories relating to the parable of the Good Samaritan and the healing of the blind. For their explanation the author goes beyond the limits of the set cycle of memories and turns toward the fourth and the first weeks of Lent. But in the hymns of the fourth week there is only an indirect hint of this parable, when the soul of a repentant sinner is compared to the man who fell among thieves. The miniaturist of the Codex Rossanensis, as far as one can judge it by the fragments of his work preserved, had not the slightest inclination to transfer into miniatures lyric similes of that kind; such a trend in an artist of the VI century would be an anachronism from the point of view of the history of art. In the divine service of the Saturday of the first week of Lent to which Mr. Usov refers for the explanation of the

picture of the healing of the blind there is not the slightest indication of this miracle; in the Gospel of the day (the Gospel according to Mark v. 10) (Translator's Note:- This incident is related in Mark, Chapter 3, verse 5.) there is narrated in the first place, not two healings, as Mr. Usov says, but one; in the second place, this healing is not of a blind man but a man with a withered hand, and therefore has no relation to our miniature. On the same day, according to the rules [1] there is prescribed the reading of a different Gospel of John (v. 52), but it does not refer to the

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1) Tipikon, publ. 1867, p. 423.

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healing of the blind. The supposition that in antiquity the first week of Lent was the week of the blind has positively no basis, if one does not take into consideration its name recorded in the well-known Sinai canon as a week of fonts, ([illegible]), indicating probably the ancient custom of the pre-Easter baptism but not the Siloam font. Clearly the miniatures of the Rossano Codex do not fit into those limits into which their interpreter wishes to squeeze them. The supposed complete cycle of the Passion of Our Lord as represented in the

present content of the miniatures is at the same time too narrow and too wide; it is in any case not complete. It is narrow because it does not include in it the picture of the crucifixion and the resurrection of the Savior; it is wide because there are miniatures there which do not refer to the Passion of our Lord. The lack of the crucifixion Mr.Usov explains by reference to the fact that the ancient Christians avoided reproducing it. In general it is correct, but in this case the significance of this reference is weakened by the special purpose of the miniaturist: if he wished to present exactly the events of the Passion of Our Lord, then the omission of the crucifixion appears to be incomprehensible; so much more so that at the time of the preparation of the manuscript the crucifixion was already known in artistic usage. Such a cycle of pictures would represent a phenomenon without example in the series of Byzantine monuments; in such form it actually does not appear in a single Byzantine illuminated Gospel.

The miniatures of the Codex Rossanensis comprise disjecta membra of something complete. Their completeness is broken by the loss of several sheets. The miniaturist had no intention of illuminating separately the text of each Evangelist; his purpose was to give the

succession of pictures, referring to Gospel history in general. In view of this he placed all miniatures together before the Gospel of Matthew, which place they occupy until now. It is impossible to represent the matter so that some of these miniatures refer to the text of the Gospel of Matthew, others of Mark and so on; the pictures of the healing of the blind and the parable of the Good Samaritan do not allow of it. They are placed on the same sheet, whereas the narratives about these events belong to different Evangelists - John and Luke. The same method of illustration we find also in other codices of the psalter, the discourses of Gregory the Theologian (Theologus) and some illustrated Gospels (the Gospel of Rabula, the Armenian Gospel of the Echmiadzin library,[2] the Syrian Gospel in the Paris National

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2) Described by Count A. S. Uvarov in the Proceedings of the V Archaeological Congress, pp. 352-357.

Library No. 33. A particularly interesting peculiarity of the illuminations of the Rossano Gospel is pictures of prophets together with the pictures of the New Testament. In the conscience of the miniaturist the New and the Old Testaments were inseparably bound up with one another. Some basis for such a connection is given directly in the

Gospel text, where there are often quoted the prophesies of the Old Testament prophets concerning the New Testament; but the miniaturist goes in this case even further; he brings forth also such prophesies as are not mentioned in the Gospel, as one can see from our table; therefore he introduces into the illumination a certain element of Page XIV theological interpretation, although he does not give it any iconographical development. It would be possible to determine exactly even the character itself of this exegesis if we knew the signs on the scrolls of the prophets; unfortunately they were left undeciphered. The truth of the matter is only that these prophesies refer directly to those pictures near which they are placed. This is proved not only by the fact of their outward placing and by analogy with the other monuments of Byzantine iconography, but also by the remaining signs on the scrolls of the four prophets, belonging to the picture of the entry of Jesus Christ into Jerusalem: on the scroll of the first prophet there is written ( ) (Psalm CXVII, 26);on the second

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(Zachariah IX, 9); on the third (

Psalm VIII, 3); on the fourth (

(Zachariah XIV, 9). It is clear that all these prophecies refer to the royal entry of Jesus Christ into Jerusalem.

From the VI century we must pass directly to the X - XII centuries. The lack of monuments of the intermediate period does not allow us to follow step by step the beginnings and the change of versions of the illuminated Gospels: but from the last three centuries the representatives of several groups of such Gospels have reached us. These prototypes must go back to more ancient times. In distinction to the Codex Rossanensis all miniatures in these Gospels are nearer to the text by their placing; but the volume of their illuminations is not equal: in some, the most simple, only four events are illustrated - one from each Evangelist, or only the festival Gospel readings at the end of each codex; in the others, several of the most remarkable events from each of the Evangelists; in the third ones, the most complete, all the most important and even secondary events of the Gospel. From the same period we have a multitude of Gospels with pictures of the Evangelists only and a few Syrian, Coptic and

Armenian, the illumination of which originated in the same Byzantium. In our characterization of these monuments we shall pursue the following order of the groups.

I. To the first group we relate those Gospels in which all iconographical content consists only of four, five and six miniatures. They serve in most cases as the frontispieces of the Gospels or vignettes. Their choice was made according to the peculiarities of the content of the Gospels and preference is given to the themes that have the closest connection to the festivals of the church. To this group belong 1) The Greek Gospel of the National Library in Paris of the XI century (No.75). Before the Gospel of Matthew the picture of the Nativity is placed (sheet 1); before the Gospel of Mark the baptism of Jesus Christ (sheet 95); before the Gospel of Luke - the Annunciation of the Holy Virgin (sheet 153); before the Gospel of John - the Resurrection (sheet 255). Bordier remarked correctly that all these pictures are excellently drawn and show forceful expression in movements and countenances [1]. But from our point of view the composition

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1) Description des peintures et autres ornements contenus dans les manuscr. grecs de la bibl. nationale par Henri Bordier, Paris, 1883, p. 137.

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itself of these pictures deserves special attention: here

the miniaturist does not limit his representation by the outward details of events, but gives them an idealistic shading: in the pictures of the baptism and resurrection he introduces the picture of sky with open gates, in the picture of the Nativity the countenances of angels glorifying the newly born Savior.

2) The Gospel of the Vatican Library of the year (No. 2 Urbin.). As proof of the time of its origin there serves, besides a notation, the excellent miniature on sheet 19: the Savior is represented on the throne in a purple tunic and a light blue himation; standing behind him are two female figures in magnificent golden mantels with crowns and unbound hair with their hands on his shoulders; one of them to the right of the onlooker is a personification of ([illegible]
the other to the left is ([illegible]
The Savior is laying his hands upon the two standing lower, The Emperors Alexius and John Comnenus, dressed in the imperial golden garments and diadems with the pendants: the Emperors hold labara in their right hands and scrolls in their left [2]. The abovementioned personifications refer

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2) On one of the first sheets of the manuscript is written ( ), on the other a dedication to the Emperor John Comnenus. The miniatures are published by Agincourt (Sammlung der Denkmäler d.Malerei Taf.LIX.) Alexius Comnenus died in 1118; before his death John ascended the Byzantine throne (Lebeau Hist. du Bas-Empire t. XV, p.473 etc.). Perhaps the manuscript was started during the reign of Alexius and finished during the reign of John and therefore the latter is called in the caption the autocrat.

first of all to the Savior, in whose person are united mercy and truth: further to the Emperors, as the expression of the most important qualities required by the imperial title. There are four miniatures of the Gospel content: before the Gospel of Matthew - the Nativity; before the Gospel of Mark the baptism of Jesus Christ, before the Gospel of Luke - the birth of John the Baptist (analogous to Page XV the Nativity of Christ before the Gospel of Matthew); before the Gospel of John - the resurrection of Jesus Christ. Besides that there are three Evangelists: Matthew (writing in Greek), Luke and John. In the composition of the miniature we find the same traces of idealization as in the previous codex.[1]

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1) In the beginning of the manuscript there are placed excerpts from the chronicle concerning the year of the birth of Jesus Christ, and excerpts from the chronicle of Hippolyte of Thebes, also of Chrysostom (concerning the Gospel of Matthew) and of Origen; also the epigrams pertaining to all the four Gospels.

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3) Vatican Gospel of the XI - XII centuries (Palat. gr. No. 189)[2] with four Evangelists and four

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2) A brief description of the manuscript: Stevenson Bibliotheca apostol. vatic. I. 96.

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pictures of Gospel events as in the previous codex. The format of the manuscript is very small (in 16mo), and

therefore the figures are also very minute; iconographic themes are not developed, but only sketched in general. The coloring is sufficiently fresh. To the same group belongs also 4) The Greek Gospel of the XI - XII centuries belonging to the Moscow Synod Biblioteck (No. 519) with the pictures of the Nativity, baptism of Jesus Christ and Annunciation of the Mother of God and 5) the Georgian Gospel of the Imperial Public Library (No. 298) with the same pictures and also the laying of Jesus Christ into the tomb, the crucifixion and the transfiguration (John). This method of illustration was also used in the Russian monuments of the later period, although with some differences. 6) In the Gospel of the Ipatievsky Monastery of the year 1603 (No.1) before every Evangel a special sheet of the miniature is placed but in each of them several pictures are to be found: before the Gospel of Matthew - the genealogy of Jesus Christ, the Nativity, the slaying of the first-born, the flight into Egypt and the adoration of the Magi: before Mark - the Sermon of John the Forerunner, the baptism and the temptation of Jesus Christ, the miracle of the loaves and fishes, the transfiguration, the supper in the house of Simon the Leper, the Last Supper, the descent from the cross and the laying into the tomb; before Luke - the

birth of John the Baptist, the Annunciation, the circumcision and the medallion pictures of the ancestors of Jesus Christ; before John - the Holy Trinity, the wedding in Cana, the driving of the money-changers out of the temple in Jerusalem, the discourse of Jesus Christ with Nicodemus and the Samaritan woman, the healing of the paralytic, the appearance of Jesus Christ to his disciples on the Lake of Tiberias, the healing of the blind and the raising from the dead of Lazarus. Besides this already fairly wide and well-chosen cycle of pictures on the front sheets, at the end of the Gospel there is also a series of pictures appended, referring to the history of the Passion of the Savior, beginning from the Last Supper and ending with the ascension of Jesus Christ to heaven. In this last series of pictures we have one of the most ancient examples in Russia of the special illustration of the Passion of Our Lord. From the artistic point of view the miniatures are very close to painting in the academic sense, which is quite natural in the Russian monument of the XVII century. 7-8) Two Four-Gospels - one at the Athos-Iversky Monastery, of the XI century (No.1) and the other Athos-Panteleimonov Monastery of the XII century (No.2) have no miniatures at all in the basic text; but placed at the end of these codices

the Gospel readings for the most important festivals are decorated with pictures. In the first of them we find the pictures of the Nativity of Christ, the baptism, the transfiguration and Assumption of Our Lady done in delicate colors on a golden background. The second consists of a considerable number of pictures, related not only to the direct content of the festival readings of the Gospel but as well to the history of Our Lady, also separate pictures of the saints, excellent, illuminated letters with minute pictures of Gospel events and persons inserted in them, and vignettes. The pictures of Page XVI
the festivals are remarkable on account of their iconographic details: the elevation of the Cross (sheet 189 on the reverse) - the patriarch is dressed in a phelonion with short hair, with a six-pointed cross in his hands, without an omophorion; standing beside the patriarch, clerics are dressed in short phelonions with tonsures on the tops of their heads. Presentations of the Virgin into the temple are pictured in two separate moments: the Mother of God at the age of 9-10 years old being accompanied by virgins with their hair unbound and with candles in their hands is on the way to the temple; she is all concentrated on the thought of the greatness of the task awaiting her; she is extending her hands toward the temple and is lifting up her eyes. Iochim and Anna

are surprised by the conduct of the Mother of God. The event, as one can see, is presented in idealized form and this trend is expressed mainly in the Holy Virgin - not a child as one would expect according to the tradition about the presentation of the Holy Virgin in the temple, but a person, entirely conscious of her high predestination. b) On the next picture the Holy Virgin is standing before the chief priest; here also on the second plane she is partaking of food from an angel. The apparition of the angel to the Bethlehem shepherds is an excellent and lively picture in which the expression of the effect on the shepherds produced by the angels' tidings is introduced in an idyllic scene.[1]

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1) See the detailed description and explanation below.

The Nativity of Christ is done according to the usual pattern used for icon-painting "Glory to God in the Highest", with the angels and shepherds. The baptism of Jesus Christ has interesting iconographical details. The purification. The Annunciation of the Holy Virgin according to the well-known iconographical pattern with the handiwork - one of the best Byzantine representations of this kind. On the pattern of this miniature

is the representation of the appearance of the Angel Zachary (sheet 243), and on the pattern of the Nativity of Christ is the birth of John the Baptist (sheet 243 on the reverse). The transfiguration of Our Lord is presented in two moments (sheet 252 and on the reverse side). Jesus Christ with his disciples on the way to the Mount of Tabor and the Transfiguration itself. The dividing of the subjects into two parts is one of the peculiarities of this Gospel. All miniatures are done very assiduously and with a skilled hand, and are distinguished by the freshness of their colors and are well-preserved. 9) Vatican Gospel of the XII century (Vat. gr. No. 1156). In its text except for the four Evangelists there is only one picture, the Ascension of Our Lord; but at the end among the festival readings their number is quite considerable. Here on one sheet before the festival readings of the Gospel there is presented the whole series of miniatures illustrating the Passion of the Savior: the prayer in the Garden of Gethsemane, the kiss of Judas, Jesus on the way to trial, the crucifixion, the entombment and the resurrection.[2] This is

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2) Published by Agincourt: Taf. LVII.

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one of the first experiments of separating the Passion

from the other Gospel pictures in the monuments of Byzantium. Farther in the calendar order we find a multitude of separate pictures of saints which together with the Vatican mynology could provide extensive material for the examination of our icon painter's guide. We also find here not a few pictures of festivals: The birth of Our Lady, the Adoration of the holy cross,[3] the elevation of the Cross, the presentation of the Holy Virgin in the

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3) Four pictures under the dates of the 10th, 11th, 12th and 13th of September. Here one sees the reflection of the divine service in accordance with the ancient regulations of the Great Church, according to which the holy cross was taken from the Czar's chambers into the church on the 10th of September and was left there until the 14th for the worshipping of the faithful (I. D. Mansvietov. The Statute of the Church p. 153). On these miniatures the cross is presented on an altar (lectern); on one side ~~of a patriarch~~ there are standing a patriarch with a nimbus, with a censer in his hands, and bishops, and on the other people worshipping the cross.

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temple. The events of the Nativity of Christ are expressed particularly in detail: the census of the people in Bethlehem, the Nativity of Christ, the adoration of the Magi and their departure, the flight into Egypt, Herod awaiting the return of the Magis, the appearance of the angel to Joseph, the circumcision of Our Lord, the shepherds glorifying Our Lord, the twelve-year-old

Jesus in the temple, the baptism and the transfiguration of Our Lord. The slavish following of the text of the Gospel by the miniaturist and the trend toward realism in the picture of the laying into the tomb - holy women are wringing their hands, the angels are weeping, are the signs of the decadence of Byzantine art. In the same group one should include a fragment of the Greek weekly Gospel in the Imperial Public Library (No. 21). (4 Only

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4) A description by Bishop Amphilochyin. About miniatures and decorations in the Greek Manuscript of the Imperial Public Library. Moscow, 1870.

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a few separate sheets are preserved from the codex. The time of its origin is a riddle. Muralt places it in the VII - VIII century.(5 N. P. Kondakov sees here the signs

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5) Catal. des manuscr. gr. de bibl. imper. pub. p. 13.

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of VII - VIII centuries; and also X - XI centuries.(6

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6) History of Byzantine Art. pp. 131-133.

According to the paleographic signs this fragment belongs to the X - XI centuries: but in its miniatures we find features actually belonging to different epochs. Some of these miniatures by their style and composition

are nearer to the most ancient monuments of the VII - VIII centuries; others to the X - XI centuries. The picture of the wedding in Cana is an example of the former kind: the Savior in the scene of the transformation of the water into wine appears in the same pose with a staff as in the scene of the miracle of the loaves and fishes: Page XVII the scene is realistic and lively; the picture of the Last Supper which is drawn according to the historical pattern has the same characteristic; but the descent into hell and the descent of the Holy Spirit on the apostles resemble the latest composition of the IX - X centuries.[1] It is possible to explain this difference

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1) The details will be given in the proper place. As to the artistic style, see the cited works of N.P.Kondakov.

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in character by the supposition that the miniaturist of the X - XI centuries copied from the most ancient examples of the illuminated Gospel: but he did not keep everywhere the style of the original: in some miniatures he is an exact copyist, in others he changes and even introduces some new miniatures, guiding himself by the artistic examples of his own period.

II. A special group of four Gospels comprises the codices in which the text of the Gospel is illustrated right through. This group is the largest and the most interesting from the iconographical point of view. Here the miniatures are blended with the text and serve as the most important help for its study. Among them some are brief and the others are extensive. It is impossible to determine the exact differences in the general trend of these miniatures, although some of them from this point of view have their own peculiarities. Let us consider first the Gospels illuminated scantily.

1) The Gospel of the National Library in Paris of the X century (No. 64).[2] Its illumination has a rather peculiar

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2) Concerning its ornamentation see "History of Byzantine Art" N.P.Kondakov p. 250, compare Bordier pl. 105.

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character. The picture of the Evangelist Matthew precedes the Gospel of this Evangelist. Farther, the beginning of the Gospel, namely the genealogy of Jesus Christ, is divided from the other text, as a separate division and it is illuminated: here we see the ancestors of Jesus Christ in two separate miniatures: three old men and a young man (sheet 10); their features do not possess a sufficient definiteness and therefore it is impossible

to recognize them: all of them are draped in the same long garments; the poses are majestic. In the end of the genealogy, two kings are represented: David and Solomon[3]

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3) According to Bordier they are Solomon and Rehoboam (p. 105).

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in Byzantine Diadems, Mother of God and Joseph. Labart in his history of applied art supposes that the miniaturist representing two kings - the ancestors of Jesus Christ, had in mind two Byzantime emperors, reigning at that time, Romanus Lecapenus and Constantine (Porphyrogenetus) (919-944) and that in this detail we find a hint as to the time of the writing of the codex.[4] This supposition

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4) Labarte Hist. des arts industr. t. 1, p. 67;III, p. 53. Album p. LXXXIII, cf. Bordier, pl. 105.

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is very improbable. There is no doubt that the Byzantine

PICTURE

Caption. 5. Annunciation of the Holy Mother of God. Gospel of Athos Panteleimon Monastery No.2.

robes of David and Solomon are taken from the garments of the Byzantine Emperors: but that the miniaturist transferred his thought from the Gospel narrative to contemporary

reality, does not appear from the design. The probability of this supposition is particularly weakened by the fact that in the other Gospels written later than the X century and at a time when not two Emperors were reigning, but one, the same kings David and Solomon appear and in the same Imperial garments. So only the character of the calligraphy and the style of the miniatures are left as indications of the antiquity of the manuscript. There is a miniature picture of this Evangelist before the Gospel of Mark; and then the beginning of the text until the words is separated as a subject for the illustrations. Here are represented (sheet 64 and on the reverse): the prophet Isaiah and John the Baptist with the open scrolls (Mark I, 2-4); lower - John baptising the people;(5 the meeting of John the Page XVIII
Baptist with Jesus Christ and the sermon of John the Baptist (sheet 65). Before the Gospel of Luke is the picture of this Evangelist, with short and thick hair and a hardly noticeable beard (sheet 101 on the reverse) and also a picture of the reigning prince Theophilus in Byzantine garments decorated with tablion (sheet 102); to the same place belong the episodes from the history of Zacharias: he is standing with Elisabeth swinging

a censer before the sacrificial altar and an angel is appearing before him; Zacharias, stupefied, is coming from the temple to the astonished throng of people (sheet 102-103). Before the Gospel of John: Evangelist John (sheet 157 on the reverse). The Holy Trinity (1

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1) According to N.P. Kondakov (p. 250) Glory of Our Lord

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the sermon of John (sheet 158), the sermon of Jesus Christ to the people (John I, 10-11), who are running away from him, and a sermon before another group of people who listen to him attentively with heads bowed (p. 12): these are the future apostles with Peter at their head. In this codex the attempt at bringing together miniatures and the text of the Gospel is not brought to an end. The miniaturist does not go into the depth of content of the Gospels and does not try to depict the main features of their difference which would be important for the completeness of the illustrations of Gospel history. He takes only the first verses of the Gospels and uses them as the first sign of the Gospels. 2) The Gospel of Athos-Iversky Monastery, XII - XIII centuries (No. and in 4) illuminated by the miniatures on a golden background in size of half a

page.[2] In spite of the comparatively late appearance of

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2) The photographic reproductions of them in the album of Sevastianov (Moscow Public Museum) are not satisfactory.

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this codex, its miniatures are still reminiscent of the brilliant epoch, full of life and energy, of Byzantine art. Though resembling closely in style and coloring the miniatures of the Gelat Gospel of the XII century,[3]

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3) See below.

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they surpass them in fineness of workmanship, nearness to nature, variety and beauty of the types. In the miniature of the Nativity of Christ (sheet 8) the small figures have extraordinarily fine and regular countenances: the excellent figures in the picture of the raising from the dead of Lazarus (sheet 415) have life and individuality and are beautifully draped in a variety of garments. The annunciating angel has sufficiently natural movement (sheet 222); even the naked body of Jesus Christ, which ordinarily is a stumbling block for the Byzantine artists is executed satisfactorily. The compositions are in general successful; sometimes the miniaturist is trying to introduce in the usual themes a sparkle of vividness (compare the picture of the possessed gesticulating with

his arms, with disheveled hair (sheet 156); also the representation of the son of the courtier in a death agony (sheet 177 on the reverse). The coloring has variety, and although the predominating colors are blue, red andpurple, the shades are pleasant. In the Gospel of Matthew we have eight pictures: the Nativity of Christ, the healing of two possessed in the country of the Gergesenes, the healing of the woman with the issue of blood, the miracle of the loaves and fishes, the parable of the guest invited to the feast, the Last Supper, the descent of the body of Jesus Christ from the cross, and the appearance of Jesus Christ to the women after the resurrection. In the Gospel of Mark are eight; the Evangelist Mark himself, the baptism of Jesus Christ, the healing of the mother-in-law of Simon, of the leper, of the possessed and of the son of the courtier, and the crucifixion of Jesus Christ in two aspects. In the Gospel of Luke are seven: the Evangelist Luke, the Annunciation, the Presentation, the Transfiguration, the healing of those suffering from the dropsy, the parable of the rich man and Lazarus, and the widow's mite; in the Gospel of John are twelve: the Evangelist John twice; the wedding in Cana, the discourse with the Samaritan woman, the healing of the paralytic and the blind, the raising from the dead of Lazarus, the entry

of Jesus Christ into Jerusalem, the washing of feet, and three additional miniatures. John Chrysostom in phelonion with a scroll is standing before Jesus Christ. The Mother of God with a scroll is leading young Chrysostom to Jesus Christ, and two episodes from the story of the appearance of God to Abraham in the disguise of three pilgrims. 3) The illuminated Gospel of the Athos-Vatopedy Monastery (No. 101-735) is near in time to the above-mentioned Gospel but considerably lower in its artistic quality: the colors are muddy and crude, the poses of the figures are monotonous and rigid, the types are not consistent; the faces are copper-red and almost all enlivened with the same unnatural blush; instead of eyes are black spots with white dashes. The compositions are copied from examples themselves not bad, the merits of which are noticeable in the miniature of the Nativity of Christ, well composed (sheet 15). The trend toward naturalism and liveliness is one of the peculiarities of the miniaturist, but he lacks schooling and taste. In the picture of the crucifixion the Mother of God lifts her head unnaturally and wipes away the tears (sheet 18). The Savior on the cross, the Apostle John in the same picture of the crucifixion, the angels in the picture of the Ascension (sheet 19), the Mother of God (sheet 201 on the reverse)

are unnaturally bent; the holy Marys are sitting near the sarcophagus of Our Lord and gesticulating; unbound hair appears from their headdress. The miniaturist profusely illustrates the Gospel of Matthew (11 miniatures) but he leaves the Gospels of Mark and John without miniatures (only the pictures of the Evangelists), and in the Gospel of Luke he inserted the Annunciation. The chronological order of the text is broken in the miniatures: the descent of the body of Jesus Christ precedes the crucifixion. In the Gospel of Matthew there are inserted pictures among others, of the purification, the Ascension, and the descent of the Holy Ghost on the apostles, about which there is nothing in the text of the Evangelist. The miniatures have captions above indicating the content (for instance

and captions below are of an edifying character (for in- Page XIX
stance,

In this Gospel we find among other things separate pictures of the symbols of the Evangelists, prohibited by the Russian church and also the tetramorph, that is, a group of four symbols of the evangelists with a sign of liturgic origin: an eagle =

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an ox = a lion= a man =

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1) Compare the explanation of the patriarch of Constantinople Hermogen: writing of the Fathers and teachers of the church referring to the interpretation of the Orthodox divine service. Vol. I p. 403: (

4) Nicodemus Gospel of the XIII century in the ecclesiastico-archaeological museum at Kiev theological academy. The number of miniatures is not considerable: two in the Gospel of Matthew, two in Mark, three in Luke, and ten in John. At the beginning of the first three Gospels the miniaturist places the pictures of the Evangelists, and besides that, in the Gospel of Luke the Annunciation of the Mother of God. At the end of the Gospel of Matthew - the apparition of the resurrected Savior to the Holy Marys (sheet 92), at the end of the Gospel of Mark - the ascension of Our Lord (sheet 151), at the end of the Gospel of Luke - the Apparition of the angel to the holy women after the resurrection of Jesus Christ, and the Apostle Peter beside the sarcophagus of Jesus Christ (sheet 246). In the Gospel of John are: the meeting of John the Baptist with the Savior, the healing of the blind and events beginning from the raising from the dead of Lazarus until the convincing of the Apostle Thomas.(2 In the beginning of the Gospel there are two

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2) The comparison of the miniatures of this Gospel with the miniatures of the Gelat Gospel and with the frescoes in St.Sophia's Cathedral in Kiev are to be found in the paper of Prof. N.I.Petrov: the Proceedings of the V Archaeological Congress in Tiflis, pp. 170-179; also phototypic pictures of two miniatures.

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extra miniatures: Emmanual in an almond-shaped nimbus with four symbols of the Evangelists and the Mother of God on the throne with the baby Jesus. From the point of view of iconographic composition the miniatures of this codex stand very near to the Gelat Gospel, as is proved by N.I. Petrov,[3] but in their artistic style they

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3) Ibid.

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are lower than the latter: this Gospel is reminiscent of the decadent epoch of Byzantine art in its long lean figures on thin legs (John the Baptist on sheet 254 ; the Apostle Peter in the picture of the washing of the feet on sheet 298), in the tendency to increase the significance of the person portrayed through the increase of the dimentions (Jesus Christ in the healing of the blind on sheet 284). Two groups of apostles in the picture of the Ascension are well composed, the countenance of Emmanuel with the regular and attractive features is beautifully done, which is an echo of a good school, this being revealed also in the predominance of the light coloring. 5) The Gospel of the Library of Athens University of the XII century (No.6). In this codex one notices the tendency of the artist to illustrate the last events of the terrestrial life of Jesus Christ. Although this attempt is not followed with strict consequence,

nevertheless it can have its importance. It is connected with those illuminations of the Passion that later on were so widespread in Western Europe and Russia. What connection such attempts have with the latest codices of the Passion is impossible to decide at present, on account of the lack of Byzantine monuments. The total number of the miniatures in the Athens Gospel reached 21, and three Evangelists: Mark, Luke andJohn. The miniatures are made by different hands; from the beginning to sheet 194 inclusive they are quite large (the sixth part of a half sheet); here we find the arrest of Jesus Christ in the Garden of Gethsemane, the weeping holy women, the Judeans before Pilate, the healing of the blind, Jesus Christ on the way to Pilate, the carrying of the cross, Joseph of Arimathea before Pilate, the healing of the lepers and of the halt. Then from sheet 247 there are small miniatures reminding one of the miniatures of the Gelat Gospel: the parable of the wicked slave, the publican and the Pharisee, the entry into Jerusalem, the Last Supper, Jesus Christ before Pilate and the meeting of Jesus Christ with John: beginning at sheet 297 the miniatures are again larger, as in the beginning: the discourse with the Samaritan woman, the raising from the dead of Lazarus, the Last

Supper, the crucifixion of Jesus Christ and the convincing of Thomas. These latter are of a better quality than in the Gelat Gospel: the brush is lively and the colors are lighter than in the preceding group, the countenances are finely finished, the postures of the figures are correct, the composition of the subjects is worked out very well (compare the raising from the dead of Lazarus with the discourse with the Samaritan woman); each miniature is provided with a caption. 6) The Greek Gospel of the Imperial Public Library in St. Petersburg of the XII - XIII centuries (No.1 105)[4]

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4) Compare Archimandrite Amphiloch. As to miniatures in the Greek manuscript in the Imperial Public Library, p. 332 and following.

The miniaturist illustrates the text sufficiently in detail and places in the Gospel of Matthew 16 miniatures, in the Gospel of Mark 11, in the Gospel of Luke 24, and in the Gospel of John 13; besides that, in the beginning of the Gospels there are the pictures of the Evangelists (John is placed wrongly) and the bust picture of Emmanuel, as the source and the main subject of all Gospel narratives. Evidently the miniaturist copied from the complete codex, curtailing the number of its miniatures and the details of the compositions and choosing only some miniatures according to his own judgment; in that way it happened that on account of the insufficient competence of the copyist, some important events are left without illustrations and vice versa, he illuminated Page XX events of secondary importance, having significance only in being introductory to the others (compare sheet 165 on the

reverse: Jesus Christ is sending his disciples for the she ass, sheet 169- the entry into the prepared chamber); some subjects are repeated. In the Gospel of Matthew are pictured: the adoration by the Magi (sheet 12 on the reverse), the slaughter of the first born of Bethlehem (sheet 13), the baptism of Jesus Christ (sheet 15), the healing of the lepers (sheet 22), of the mother-in-law of Simon (sheet 23), of the two lunatics (sheet 24), the transfiguration (sheet 40), the entry into Jerusalem (sheet 47), the Last Supper (sheet 60), the praying in the Garden of Gethsemane (sheet 61), the betrayal by Judas (sheet 62), the crucifixion (sheet 65), the resurrection and the descent into hell (sheet 67), the appearance of the resurrected Savior to the Holy Women (sheet 68); in the Gospel of Mark: the healing of the half (sheet 72) of the one with the withered arm (sheet 74), of the woman with the issue of blood (sheet 79), the transfiguration (sheet 87), the dry fig tree (sheet 93), the prophecy of the destruction of Jerusalem (sheet 97), the women anointing the feet of Jesus Christ (sheet 99), Jesus Christ before Pilate (sheet 103) and the Ascension (sheet 106 on the reverse); in the Gospel of Luke there are: the Annunciation (sheet 110), the purification (sheet 114), the miracle of the draught of fishes (sheet 127), the healing of the lunatic (sheet 132), Jesus Christ blessing the apostles (sheet 129),

the feeding of the multitude (sheet 130), the transfiguration (sheet 131), the healing of the lunatic (sheet 132), of the sufferer from dropsy (sheet 144), and of ten lepers (sheet 150), the publican and the Pharisee (sheet 162),

on the tree (sheet 164), Jesus Christ sending his disciples for an ass (sheet 165 on the reverse), the entry into Jerusalem (sheet 166), the widow)s mite (sheet 169 on the reverse), the entry into the chamber and the prayer in the Garden of Gethsemane (sheet 173), the bearing of the cross (sheet 176), the crucifixion (sheet 176), the laying into the tomb, (sheet 178), Peter beside the sarcophagus of Jesus Christ (sheet 179), the benediction of the apostles (sheet 181). In the Gospel of John there are: the wedding in Cana (sheet 185), the discourse with the Samaritan woman (sheet 189), the healing of the halt (sheet 192), the feeding of the multitude (sheet 192 on the reverse), the walking on the water of Jesus Christ (sheet 193 on the reverse), the betrayal by Judas (sheet 214), the crucifixion (sheet 217), the laying into the tomb (sheet 218), the epiphany of Jesus Christ after the resurrection to the apostle Thomas (sheet 220),and on the Lake of Tiberias (sheet 221), the breaking of bread on the seashore (sheet 222). 7) The Gospel of the Paris National Library - of the XIII century (No. 54). It is

written in two columns: in one the text is Greek and in the other it is Latin and not complete.[1] It is reasonable

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1) On pages 141 to 279 there is no Latin text.

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to suppose that it was predetermined for the Western Christians of Southern Italy and Sicily who were using the Eastern ritual and the Greek language. The original intention to decorate the entire text with the miniatures was left unfulfilled: some miniatures are outlined only in contour; for the others empty spaces were left. This

PICTURE

Caption - 4. The Baptism of Jesus Christ. From Gospel No.54.

circumstance helps to explain the method which the miniaturist used in his work, as Bordier has already mentioned.[2]

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2) Descript. p. 228.

First he would draw in ink the main outlines of the entire picture and in this way he would lay the basic idea of it; then he would put a golden background made from little sheets of gold, probably with the help of white of egg and starch; then with a fine brush he would outline

with brownish color the main parts of the design, to define more exactly and fix the idea. Finally he would pass on to the finishing of details. The mechanical attitude of the miniaturist toward the illuminating is clearly seen in the method of coloring of miniatures. He would take one color and would paint with it simultaneously all parts of the pictures, according to his plan, that required that particular color, so that the picture, after this operation, presented a series, for instance, only of red spots. (Sheet 201). Then he would pass on to the other colors. Bordier finds these miniatures valuable and beautiful; this praise is exaggerated: the coloring of the miniature is reminiscent of the Athos-Vatopedys codex: iconographical types are not strictly executed; the type of the Savior with chestnut hair and undivided beard is satisfactory, but the characteristic type of the apostle Peter is garbled, so that it is unrecognizable. The unusual freedom of the contours in the pictures of the Evangelists gives us reason to compare them with the Western codices of the XIII century. The free attitude toward iconographic tradition is noticeable also in the exchange of the landscape for the buildings in the picture of the arrest of the Savior in the Garden of Gethsemane (sheet 38 on the reverse), and in the figure of the

personification of the sea - a woman sitting in a small boat. The number of miniatures in the Gospel of Matthew Page XXI is 13, of Mark - 6, of Luke - 11, of John - 2.[1]

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1) The description by Bordier pp. 228-231; compare the cited works of Kondakov (p. 245), where the parable of the guest invited to the feast is expounded as a parable of the tares, and the miniature itself is not described entirely exactly.

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8) The Greek Gospel of the Imperial Public Library in St. Petersburg (No. 118).[2] The clear indication of the

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2) Compare the cited works of the Archimandrite Amphilachy p. 54 and following.

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writing of this manuscript is to be found in the picture of a man on his knees in the garments of the Byzantine Emperor with the sign

on sheet 383. On sheet 3 in the middle of the double-headed eagle we find a monogram of the Palaeologi, and on sheet 22 is Michael Palaeologus in a red hat with the caption

So the codex is from the reign of Michael Palaeologus about the year 1450. The miniatures of this Gospel present mainly the festivals of the Orthodox church. This choice is explained by the fact that toward the XV century, with the multiplication of the festivals of this

church, the significance of Gospel events in honor of which special festivals were established increased in the eyes of artists. Although at the beginning of the Gospel on three sheets preceding the index of the Gospel readings there are to be found pictures of the parable of the sower (sheet 1), the discourse with the Samaritan woman (sheet 2), the stilling of the tempest (sheet 3 on the reverse), and a few miniatures not belonging to the text of the Gospel, including the Emperor Constantine and Helena [3] with a cross between them, the miniatures in

3) According to Muralt Irine (Catal.)

the Gospel of Matthew begin with the Annunciation (sheet 21), which shows the free attitude of the miniaturist toward the text. After it the Nativity of Christ (sheet 21 on the reverse), the purification (sheet 22 on the reverse), the baptism of Jesus Christ (sheet 23), the transfiguration (sheet 122 on the reverse), the raising from the dead of Lazarus (sheet 124 on the reverse) [4]

4) This miniature should be in the Gospel of John.

and the entry into Jerusalem (sheet 125); in the Gospel of Mark the crucifixion (sheet 190 on the reverse), the

descent into hell (sheet 193 on the reverse), and the Ascension of Jesus Christ to heaven (sheet 194); in the Gospel of Luke the descent of the Holy Ghost on the apostles (sheet 300), the assumption of the Mother of God (sheet 301); in the Gospel of John the Last Supper (sheet 384), and the washing of the feet (sheet 384 on the reverse). Obviously the miniaturist chooses from the Gospel very little, arranges the events in their chronological order, and brings here the pictures which do not refer directly to the Gospel; such is the assumption of the Mother of God which, together with the pictures of the Palaeologi, give us reason to suppose that this manuscript had its origin either in Constantinople or Athos. The opinion of Muralt that the greatest part of the miniatures (except the Evangelists and Demetrius Palaeologus) were made in Italy has only one correct part - that the influence of the Western school is reflected on them, namely in the landscape scenes, the aerial perspective and some iconographic details; but the general character of the compositions and the Greek captions ( ) give us rather reason to believe that the miniatures were executed by a Greek who had acquaintance with the Western painting.

III. In the series of the complete illuminated Greek Gospels the first place must be given 1) to the Gospel of the Paria National Library, of the XI century (No. 74). By reason of the completeness of the iconographical material, preservation, the freshness of the colors and its icon-painting beauty, this is the best of all Byzantine illuminated Gospels that has reached us. These merits compensate partly for the noticeable lack of inventiveness, anatomical mistakes and incorrectness in the postures of some figures.(5

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5) Compare Waagen Kunstwerke u. Künstler in Parks S. 226-227. N.P.Kondakov History of Byzantine Art pp. 237-240. Bordier Desci. 113-36. Some pictures in Labarte (Hist. des arts). Pogo de Fleury (L'Evangile) and Grimoir Guide de l'art chr.

Its miniatures embrace not only the most important events of the Gospel but also the details of the discourses, sermons, parables and similes. Step by step the artist follows the text of the Gospel, transferring this text sometimes to the miniature in the smallest detail. Here we see, for instance how the Savior is anointing the eyes of the blind man with clay, how the guide is leading this blind man to the pool of Siloam, the blind man coming to the pool and returning healed, telling the people about his being healed, the parents of the blind man being asked to explain, here again the healed man

himself coming, the people chasing him away and he kneeling before Jesus Christ (sheets 186 - 187 on the reverse). All these details of the Gospel narrative expressed in separate miniatures.[6] The character of

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6) The figures are about 3 centimeters high.

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the sermons and parables with their many shadings, particularly complicated the work of the miniaturist: we see here, for instance, how the sower is casting seeds, how these seeds have germinated - some on stony ground, some among thorns, some are being picked up by birds, some have ripened on fertile ground; the reaper mowing the stout ears (70). A separate picture of the Savior on the throne, teaching his apostles, indicates that all these details do not express an historical fact, but only a supplementary narrative. With as many details are presented the parable of the prodigal son (sheet 143), the healing of the lunatic (sheet 83) and the others. The total number of the miniatures in the Gospel of Matthew reaches 99, in the Gospel of Mark - Page XXII
67, in the Gospel of Luke - 97, and in the Gospel of John - 86.[1] Displaying such servility toward the text

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1) Bordier, dividing some miniatures in two parts, suggests a different enumeration: 110, 67, 103 and 95. Bordier p. 136.

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and putting literalism among the basic requirements of Gospel iconography, the artist necessarily would have to permit repetition of themes, because he would find in the different Evangelists narratives of the same events. Such repetitions are not rare, but the miniatures repeated are not entirely identical and allow shadings according to the peculiarities in the narratives of the different Evangelists. There are not here even two identical miniatures. But revealing in this case a sensible and not mechanical attitude, the miniaturist discloses in many instances that he copied from existing originals and has no understanding of the significance of the ancient iconographical details; for instance, the meaning of the nimbus. We have reason to think that in the most ancient illuminated Gospels, the apostles in the pictures of the events of the terrestrial life of Jesus Christ were represented without the nimbus, and only in the events of their lives beginning from the descent of the Holy Ghost was the ninbus used, as an external sign of blessed gifts and authority. As an example we point out the Gospels of the Rossano codex, the Syrian Gospel, the Gospel of Rabula, and the Trapesund Gospel of the Imperial Public Library in St.Petersburg (No. 21). While the

miniaturist of the codex under consideration uses the nimbus without any specific order: the same persons in very similar situations are represented here sometimes with the nimbus and sometimes without; in the same group of the apostles some of them have the nimbus and some have not (sheet 124 on the reverse); in the picture of the descent from the cross the companion of the Mother of God has a nimbus and the favorite disciple of Christ has none (sheet 208 on the reverse); in one of the pictures of the crucifixion the same companion has no nimbus. This inconsistency gives us an opportunity to see that the ancient point of view on the significance of the nimbus had no particular importance in the eyes of our miniaturist, although he preserved an echo of this tradition in the nimbus of Herod (sheet 4). The traditions of classic antiquity appear in weak traces in the miniatures: the miniaturist represents with sufficient realism a building with an antique portico in the picture of the resurrection of the daughter of Archon (sheet 17 on the reverse), an antique pool in the picture of the annunciation of the holy Mother of God (sheet 105 on the reverse, compare with sheet 176). He introduces in the miniature the personifications of the wind and the River Jordan, changing the latter into the form of a boy

(sheet 64 on the reverse). This shows that the personification of the Jordan was not clear for our copyist: evidently some details of the complicated picture of the crucifixion are also not clear (sheet 59). Side by side with the antique elements, there are some details in the miniatures borrowed from the Byzantine mode of life. For instance, the garments, and the mourners in the form of women with unbound hair in the picture of the resurrection of the son of the widow of Nain (sheet 121). But in general the miniaturist follows the antique traditions of Byzantine iconography and firmly remembers that the foundation of his subject must be the Gospel text. It is impossible to deny that he knew some of the traditions, the origin of which is vague, and which are attributed to apocryphic sources, but it is difficult to agree with a well-known specialist of the history of the Byzantine miniature, that the miniaturist, representing in detail the history of the annunciation and Nativity of Christ were using all the known apocryphies without discrimination.[2]

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2) N. P. Kondakov, History of Byzantine Art, p. 238. By the way, we wish to correct an error which gives the author an opportunity to reprove the miniaturist for a display of bad taste in icon painting: this is the supposed representation of Jesus Christ with a broom, searching for a lost drachma (Ibid. pp. 139 and 239). This picture is to be found on the reverse of sheet 142; however it is not Jesus Christ with the broom, but the woman who lost the drachma, which is in accordance with the Gospel text (Luke XV, 8-9).

The annunciation is represented here only at one moment "beside the fountain", and there is no detailed development of the themes offered by the apocryphies. The Nativity of Christ is represented in the Gospels of Matthew and Luke in more detail, but here also we do not find indiscriminate use of the apocryphies. The miniaturist is copying from existing originals and repeats those forms which long ago were accepted in artistic practice. The annunciation beside a fountain is known in the monuments of the V and VI centuries; the details of the Nativity of Christ repeated by the miniaturist are to be found in antiquo-Christian sculpture. In the other miniatures he has also elements that are connected with the apocryphic traditions; but these elements, considering the entire aggregation of the miniatures, do not occupy a noticeable place and do not penetrate into the depth of illustrations. The whole would not suffer very much if we were to throw aside these traditional elements. From this point of view this codex could not stand comparison with the known homilies of Jacob, the mosaics of the Constantinople Cathedral of Our Savior or with the sculpture of the Ravennate pulpit of Maximilian. The main iconographic forms of miniatures of this codex find their explanation in the Gospel text.

2) An example of the same version is represented by the Slavonic Gospel of the Pecrovsky Edinoverchesky Church in the city of Elisavetgrad. The spelling of the codex is Bulgarian; the antiquity is not earlier than the XIV century, because in the synoxar appended to the Page XXIII Gospel there are to be found the names of the Serbian saints - Simeon and Bishop Savva (XIII century).[1] It

1) Bishop Sergius Agiologia II, pp. 11, 38, 53.

is written in excellent script of the XIV-XV centuries on perchment in folio. The general character of the miniatures is the same as those in the Paris Gospel No. 74: the same completeness of iconographic content, the same compositions, partly the same mistakes and misunderstandings. We present for comparison a few pictures, relating to the last days of John the Precursor, taken from both codices. The difference between the Elisavetgrad Gospel and the Paris is in details. In the beginning of the Gospel of Matthew, in a vignette in five medallions around the Evangelist Matthew there are represented Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, with scrolls in their hands and two cherubims; in the Paris Gospel, instead of Abraham, there is represented the Ancient of Days - the Savior in the image of an old man in a tunic and himation with scroll and a sign ( ). A close resemblance of

this picture of Abraham with the pictures of Isaac and Jacob in the Elisavetgrad Gospel gives us reason to think that the miniaturist of this Gospel really intended Abraham here, but not the Ancient of Days; probably the figure of the original from which he had copied had not had a caption, which is to be found in the Paris codex; the fact that the miniaturist of the Paris codex interpreted the significance of this figure correctly, taking it for the Savior but not Abraham, is proved by the repetition of the pictures of the same Savior in different aspects on the corresponding places of the vignettes of all the other Evangelists, as in the Paris and the Elisavetgrad codices. In the same vignette

PICTURE

Caption.5. Paris Gospel No. 74

PICTURE

Caption.6.Elisavetgrad Gospel

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below, Evangelist Matthew is standing before an unidentified person dressed in the garments of a Byzantine Emperor: but in the Paris codex the picture of an Emperor is replaced by the picture of an abbot and it is placed at the end of the Gospel of Matthew. This latter

difference caused us to think that the Paris Gospel had a monastic origin and destination, while the Elisavetgrad one, or at least the original of it, was intended as a gift to a sovereign. The whole content of the miniatures in both Gospels is identical. In the Elisavetgrad Gospel there are missing a few miniatures which have second rate significance, and namely, in the Gospel of Matthew, Jesus Christ and the apostles on the way to Mount Eleon (Paris Gospel, sheet 53 on the reverse) and the bringing of Jesus Christ to the judgment of the Chief Priest (Paris Gospel, sheet 56 on the reverse), the third picture of the crucifixion (Paris Gospel, sheet 59 on the reverse); in the Gospel of Mark there are missing the second picture of the prayer of Jesus Christ in the Garden of Gethsemane, and the descent of Jesus Christ into hell; in the Gospel of Luke there are missing three pictures referring to Luke IV, 20, and the following; IX, 48 and 52-53; the resurrection of the son of the widow of Nain (Luke VII, 11 and the following) the discourses of Jesus Christ with a lawyer (X, 25), the accusing of the Pharisees (XI, 42), reference to the birds which do not sow and do not harvest (XII, 24), to the didrachma (XV, 8-9); in the Gospel of John there is missing the second picture of the preaching

of Jesus Christ about the daily bread (Chapter VI). All these omissions do no damage at all to the whole: almost all the omitted miniatures belong to the type of com- Page XXIV positions which are repeated in the codex many times, and therefore do not represent any particular interest. The rest of the miniatures in both codices are entirely in conformity. The differences in detail of the pictures are insignificant; for instance, in the picture of the Nativity of Christ (in the Gospel of Matthew) the miniaturist of the Elisavetgrad Gospel omits the cave, the beams emanating from the hand of the angel, the figure of the little goat; in the picture of the Baptism he omits the branch in the beak of the pigeon - the Holy Ghost, the star, the hand of God the Father and the cross in the water; the picture of the ascension of Our Lord is supplemented by two angels; the Mother of God is placed between two groups of apostles, and the hale of the Savior has the form of a many-colored sphere.